

North Korea and Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)

Lesson Learned and opportunities from North Korea Involvement in NAM

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Abstract: *Many experts still believe that engagement would be the answer towards the recent situation in Korean peninsula. Up to now, few contacts which have taken place can hardly be called as negotiations. Looking at the situation, a new player could be added into the negotiation process to solve North Korea's nuclear crisis. The new player should be free of interest, reliable, and has a strong connection with North Korea. It is already over 40 years since North Korea was accepted as full-fledged member and North Korea has gained immeasurably by joining Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Thus NAM is probably one of the most promising exit strategies for North Korea nuclear crisis, the engagement that could provide coalition for punishment tomorrow. The movement could be an opportunity for North Korean nuclear problem, since it has long history with North Korea, freer from superpower interest, and provide a lot of benefits to North Korean regime.*

Keywords: *North Korea, DPRK, Non-Aligned Movement, Hawk Engagement, Engagement, Containment, Nuclear Weapons.*

Abstrak: Banyak ahli masih meyakini bahwa perjanjian dapat menjadi jawaban dari situasi di Korea Peninsula. Sampai sekarang, beberapa kontak yang terjadi sulit disebut sebagai negosiasi. Melihat situasi yang terjadi, pemeran baru dapat dicantumkan kedalam proses negosiasi untuk menyelesaikan krisis nuklir Korea Utara. Pemeran baru harus bebas dari kepentingan, dapat dipercaya, dan memiliki hubungan yang kuat dengan Korea Utara. Sudah 40 tahun sejak Korea Utara diterima sebagai anggota penuh dan diluar perkiraan Korea Utara bergabung dengan *Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)*. Maka, NAM mungkin menjadi satu dari jalan keluar yang paling menjanjikan untuk krisis nuklir Korea Utara, perjanjian dapat menghasilkan koalisi untuk penerapan hukuman di masa yang akan datang. Gerakan ini dapat menjadi peluang bagi masalah Korea Utara, sejak ini memiliki sejarah yang panjang dengan Korea Utara, bebas dari kepentingan *superpower*, dan memberikan banyak keuntungan bagi rezim Korea Utara.

Kata Kunci: Korea Utara, DPRK, *Non-Aligned Movement*, *Hawk Engagement*, Perjanjian, *Containment*, Senjata Nuklir.

Introduction

Over the years the world has been exhausted over the problem of North Korea's nuclear ambition. Many talks have been held and many ways have been tried but the result remains the same, there is no positive result. In 2015, it is said that North Korea has a capability to strike mainland United States with their missile. North Korea even said that it has the ability to miniaturize nuclear weapons.¹

Many experts still believe that engagement would be the answer towards the recent situation in Korean peninsula.² Any miscalculation towards the situation will only bring bad consequences. As we know, military consequences will be the worst possibility since the capitals of Seoul and Pyongyang are less than 150 miles apart.³ Despite of the enthusiasm of engagement strategy, there is also pessimistic opinion towards the idea of engagement to solve North Korea's nuclear crisis. Some experts are pessimistic whether the negotiation process will be successful. Most of them believe that North Korea ambition on maintaining its nuclear program will be a great obstacle towards the

success of the negotiation.⁴ Besides that the relationship between United States and North Korea is never been easy. As Bleiker mentioned in his article, it is not surprising that the few contacts which have taken place between the US and North Korea can hardly be called negotiations.⁵ Looking at the situation, a new player could be added into the negotiation process to solve North Korea's nuclear crisis. The new player should be free of interest, reliable, and has a strong connection with North Korea in order to avoid the same mistakes as it happened with United States negotiations with North Korea.

This paper argues that Non-Aligned Movement (NAM hereinafter) could be one of the solutions for North Korea security dilemma. In 1975 North Korea joined NAM as full-fledged member based on the unanimous decision of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Lima.⁶ Until recently, NAM might be the only international political groups that have a long history with North Korea. It is also believed that North Korea has gained immeasurably from their membership in NAM, something that could create punishment for

¹ "North Korea Nuclear Timeline Fast Facts." *CNN*, May 22 2015, accessed on July 18 2015, <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/10/29/world/asia/north-korea-nuclear-timeline---fast-facts/>.

² Hazel Smith. "Bad, mad, or rational actor? Why the 'securitization' paradigm makes for poor policy analysis of north Korea." *International Affairs* 76, no. 3 (2000), 616-617.

³ Victor D. Cha and David D. Kang. *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 54-55.

⁴ "The Six-Party Talks on North Korea's Nuclear Program." Council on Foreign Relations, accessed on 18 July 2015, <http://www.cfr.org/proliferation/six-party-talks-north-koreas-nuclear-program/p13593>

⁵ Roland Bleiker. "A Rogue is a rogue is a rouge: US foreign Policy and the Korean nuclear crisis." *International Affairs* 79, no. 4 (2003): 733.

⁶ R. R. Krishnan. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." *International Studies* 20 (1981): 299, accessed on 21 July 2015, doi: 10.1177/002088178102000123.

tomorrow. As mentioned by Cha, it is important to build a coalition for punishment tomorrow. He later described this approach as “Hawk Engagement”⁷, which he believes as the best strategy to solve North Korea crisis. Besides that, NAM has had attention to the issue of nuclear disarmament since the founding of the movement⁸. This condition will support the NAM engagement towards the issue of North Korea’s nuclear program.

In order to elaborate the above argument it is important to generating a research question, which is: can NAM be the solution for North Korea’s nuclear crisis? In dealing with this question, this paper will be divided into five parts. The first part will be the theoretical frameworks, and then the second part will describe about the introduction of NAM. The third part will explain North Korea involvement in the NAM and the fourth part will analyze the lesson learned and opportunities that NAM has in dealing with North Korea’s nuclear program. Last but not least, a conclusion will be in the end of the paper.

⁷ For interesting debates about Hawk Engagement, see Cha and Kang. *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*.

⁸ For interesting discussion about Non-Aligned Movement and Nuclear Politics, see William Potter and Gaukhar Mukhatzhanova. “Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement.” *Adelphi Series* 51, no. 427 (2011).

Theoretical Frameworks: Between Containment and Engagement

“Today’s carrots are tomorrow’s most effective sticks. Sticks only work if North Korea has a stake in the status quo”⁹

-Victor D. Cha

Power is an important aspect in politics, as power is what people fight for in politics, both in domestic and international arena. One of the assumptions why states need power is because the main goal of states is survival (Mearsheimer, 2010). Even though it is said that each assumption should be linked with the other assumptions in order to get the clear picture of security dilemma¹⁰, the reason of survival always seen as one of the important reason for realist. Since power becomes the most important thing for states in the world, world affairs were determined by power and that there were only two powerful nations to emerge after World War II, United States and Soviet Union. The implication of this situation was the emergence of two powerful blocs, led by United States and Soviet Union during the Cold War. Hence power theorist saw third world countries only as a client or member of the global alliance

⁹ Cha and Kang. *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*. 90.

¹⁰ For further discussion about other assumptions, see John J. Mearsheimer, “Structural Realism” in Tim Dunne, Milja Kurki, Steave Smith, *International Relations Theories*, second ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 79.

structure.¹¹ In order to avoid this situation, where small countries only are a part of the global alliance structure as an addition, third world countries try to announce the spirit of neutralism. According to Peter Lyon, “by neutrality is meant non-involvement in war, while by neutralism is meant non-involvement in the Cold War.”¹² However, it is important to remember that the position of neutralism, neutrality, or non-aligned is not simply the rejection of alliances.¹³

One of the possibilities to explain the emergence of movement, alliance or treaty is by making an interlinking between international system, international society and global society, as did by the English School. In the realist point of view, the condition where states competing to maximize their power will create anarchic international environment. Anarchic international environment is a situation where there is no overarching authority exists and where the goal of every state is to maximize its relative power in order to survive.¹⁴ In facing the

problem of anarchic international environment, states decide that their survival under anarchy is more likely to be guaranteed through cooperation rather than self-help. In this situation states believe that cooperation will constrain the competitive dynamics of anarchy through the creation of norms, rules and institutions. Moreover, both concepts put power and authority within the state.¹⁵ On the other hand, global society concept not focusing power and authority within states. The concept believes that power and authority must serve the interests of global society since the attention in international relations is the global population as a whole.¹⁶

The problem of North Korean threat later brings scholars into a discussion of containment and engagement. This leads us to Victor D. Cha engagement theory. As Bailey argues that engagement strategy with carrots being offered to North Korea are likely to fail¹⁷, Cha come up with a theory of “containment plus engagement.”¹⁸ The theory later called as “Hawk engagement.” In simple way, this theory believes in cooperation between rivals with such

¹¹ A. W. Singham and Shirley Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), 379-402.

¹² “Neutralism - Defining cold war neutralism.” Accessed on 18 July 2015, <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/E-N/Neutralism-Defining-cold-war-neutralism.html>.

¹³ Singham and Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1986), 379-402.

¹⁴ For the explanations of this interlinking, Buzan, “The English School: An Underexploited Resource in IR,” *Review of International Studies* 27 (2001): 474-475; Tanya Ogilvie-White. “International Responses to Iranian Nuclear Defiance: The Non-Aligned Movement and the Issue of Non-Compliance.” *The*

European Journal of International Law 18, no. 3: 458, accessed on 18 July 2015, doi: 10.1093/ejil/chm027.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ K.C. Bailey. “North Korea: Enough Carrots, time for the stick.” *Comparative Strategy* 13, no. 3 (1994): 277.

¹⁸ For further explanation about Hawk engagement, see Victor D. Cha. “Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula.” *International Security* 27, no. 1 (2002): 40-78.

terms and conditions agreed, which could benefit both sides. Moreover, this theory also said that containment also allow to be used if the rival starts to break the terms or not fulfill the agreed conditions. Furthermore, this theory also aims to build coalition for punishment tomorrow. If the rival has something to lose, which is created from the engagement, then they will be more cooperative.¹⁹

NAM: An Introduction

*"It's not about specific measures. It's about the principles of national sovereignty, independence, non-interference, peaceful settlements of disputes and fairness in north-south relations and economic relations between member states."*²⁰

-Hans Koechler, an expert on the Non-Aligned Movement

During the Cold War era between United States and former Soviet Union, NAM was established on the spirit of anti imperialism and colonialism. The movement also tried not to be part of the existing two blocs at that time. In

this regard, NAM meant the rejection of control and pressures by the superpowers.²¹ NAM originated from the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia in April 18-24, 1955. It is a movement representing the interest and priorities of developing countries. At the Bandung Asian-African Conference 1955, Third World Leaders met and shared their common perception on the problem they faced. The problem mainly was the pressures from major powers, maintaining of the independence, opposing colonialism and neo-colonialism.²² Bandung Asian-African Conference recognized as an important point in the history of NAM. The principles which proclaimed during the conference, known as "Ten Principles of Bandung," later become the main argument for NAM. The principles were adopted as the main goals and objectives of the policy of non-alignment, and also became important criteria for the membership.²³

In 1961, six years after Bandung Asian-African Conference, NAM held the First Summit Conference of Belgrade, which was

¹⁹ For a great debate in containment and engagement see, Victor D. Cha and David D. Kang, *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Cha, "Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula."

²⁰ "Non-Aligned Movement struggles for relevancy in post-Cold War world." *Deutsche Welle*. Accessed on 31 August 2015.
http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,4475706,00.html?mac=en-en_nr-1893-xml-atom

²¹ Hennie Strydom. "The Non-Aligned Movement and the Reform of International Relations." *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* 11 (2007): 2.

²² "The Non-Aligned Movement: Description and History." Accessed on 21 July 2015,
<http://www.nam.gov.za/background/history.htm>.

²³ "History and Evolution of Non-Aligned Movement," Ministry of External Affairs. Government of India, accessed on 14 August 2015,
<http://mea.gov.in/in-focus-article.htm?20349/History+and+Evolution+of+NonAligned+Movement>.

held on September 1-6, 1961 at the initiative of Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito. Yugoslav President Tito -alongside with Heads of State and Government Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia later known as founding fathers of the NAM- expressed his concern about the arms race between United States and Soviet Union during the first summit. Furthermore, 25 countries was attended the first conference, they were: Afghanistan, Algeria, Yemen, Myanmar, Cambodia, Srilanka, Congo, Cuba, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yugoslavia. At the first summit, these countries choose consensus as a method of decision making for NAM. They were also put their commitment to peace and disarmament, independence, economic equality, cultural equality, as well as universalism and multilateralism.²⁴

Moreover, the founder of NAM were agreed to proclaim NAM as a movement not as an organization. The reason behind this is to avoid bureaucratic implications of an organization. Based on the main background of the establishment, NAM focused on objectives

²⁴ For further details about the principles and background of NAM, see Singham and Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 13-22; "The Non-Aligned Movement: Background Information." Accessed on 21 July 2015, <http://www.nam.gov.za/background/background.htm>.

of the non-aligned countries. Some of the important objectives are to protect the right of nations to "independent judgment" and to counter imperialism. The movement is also committed to restructuring the world economic order and strengthening the United Nations. With these objectives, NAM sought to prevent its members from becoming the object in Cold War power games between Western blocs and Soviet power blocs.²⁵ In a simple way, NAM tries to become neutral at the time it was established. Although one of the main concerns of NAM is about the issue of non-alignment towards the existing blocs or superpowers of the time, critics often said that NAM member countries is not fully non-alignment due to the fact that Cuba and North Korea are also part of communism.²⁶ However, NAM has proven their ability to adapt to the internal conditions of its members and remains capable of becoming one of the important international social movements. As noted by Singham and Hune that one of the greatest achievements of NAM has been its capacity to transform itself from a small protest

²⁵ For further details, see "Profile: Non-Aligned Movement." *BBC* August 7, 2009, accessed on 21 July 2015,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/2798187.stm#leaders>.

²⁶ "The Non-Aligned Movement. Not dead yet. A ghostly relic marks its birth in a vanished country." *The Economist*, September 10, 2011, Accessed on 21 July 2015,

<http://www.economist.com/node/21528599>.

movement into a major international social movement in world politics.²⁷

Regarding the administration and organizational structure, NAM tries to give opportunity to empower its member by creating the practice of a rotating chair. It also aims to challenge the hegemony of the dominant powers. In a simple way, Non-Aligned administration is non-hierarchical, rotational and inclusive, providing all member states, regardless of size and importance, with an opportunity to participate in global decision-making and world politics.²⁸ In 1997, NAM created a new organizational innovation through the introduction of “Troika” concept. “Troika” means the previous, current and future which related to NAM chair.²⁹

Until recently, there have been many summits and meetings organized by NAM such as the fourth summit in Algeria, the tenth summit in Indonesia, and the fifteenth summit in Egypt in 2009.³⁰ The last summit was held in Tehran, Iran in 2012.³¹ Moreover, after the end

of cold war, NAM member countries still find that NAM objectives and philosophy has not lost its validity. In 2006, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries reaffirmed their commitment to the principles and purposes of NAM. Nowadays, NAM gives attentions into globalization, trade and investment, debt, aids and international crime³² as well as their concern towards the issue of disarmament and international security, and also reform in United Nations. One of the main concerns from NAM towards United Nations is about the reform of United Nations Security Council.³³ In the early 1990s, the membership of Yugoslavia in NAM was suspended,³⁴ Argentina withdrew from the movement and Iraq attacked another NAM member, Kuwait. Thus, the beginning of 1990s was a pretty tough year for NAM.³⁵ Recently, NAM consists of 120 member

²⁷ Singham and Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 33.

²⁸ For further details of NAM Structure and Organization, see Singham and Hune. *Non-alignment in an Age of Alignments*, 33-56; “The Non-Aligned Movement: Background Information.”; Potter and Mukhatzhanova. “Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement.” 21-24.

²⁹ Potter and Mukhatzhanova. “Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement.” 24.

³⁰ “The Non-Aligned Movement: Background Information.”

³¹ “NAM summit: India says no to foreign intervention in Syria.” *Hindustantimes* August 30,

2012, accessed August 24, 2015

<http://www.hindustantimes.com/world-news/nam-summit-india-says-no-to-foreign-intervention-in-syria/article1-922067.aspx>.

³² “14th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement,” accessed on 1 August 2015, http://cns.miis.edu/nam/documents/Official_Document/14NAMSummit-Havana-Compiled.pdf

³³ Strydom. “The Non-Aligned Movement and the Reform of International Relations,” 8-36.

³⁴ Lai Kwon Kin. “Yugoslavia casts shadow over non-aligned summit”. *The Independent* September 2, 1992, accessed on 18 July 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/yugoslavia-casts-shadow-over-nonaligned-summit-1548802.html>.

³⁵ For interesting discussion, see Potter and Mukhatzhanova. “Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement.” 17-36.

countries. New member countries were accepted in the last Ministerial Conference in Bali in 2011 NAM, Azerbaijan and Fiji.³⁶

North Korea Involvement in NAM

“...foreign interference in Korea be brought to an end and that the right of the Korean people to self-determination be guaranteed in order to allow them to manage their own affairs themselves and to settle the question of reunification of Korea by peaceful means.”³⁷

-Non-Aligned Movement Resolution on
“problems of Korea”, 1973.

Prior to North Korean involvement in NAM, North Korea already began its diplomacy with third world countries since mid-1950s. In April 1955, North Korea began their diplomacy with third world countries by sending its delegation to the Asian Conference for the Relaxation of International Tension (ACRIT) in New Delhi. This conference acknowledged as the first major third world conference attended by North Koreans. Even though North Korea (and also South Korea) was excluded from Bandung Asian-African Conference in 1955, which recognized as an important point in the history of NAM, North Korean media covered

the Bandung Conference quite positively.³⁸ The development of NAM apparently had made North Korean leader at that time, Kim Il Sung, interested to attached more with the movement. In April 1965, the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference, Kim Il Sung had visited Indonesia after Indonesia's President Sukarno had visited Pyongyang in the previous year.³⁹ This was Kim's first visit outside the socialist bloc since the founding of the North Korea and recognized as an important visit for North Korea. During his visit, on 14 April, Kim made a speech which titled was *On Socialist Construction in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the South Korean Revolution*. The speech was about the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, and called for strengthening the anti-imperialist movement in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.⁴⁰ This speech was quite related to the idea of *Juche*.⁴¹ Moreover, the spirit of NAM seems well connected to the idea of *Juche*, which is

³⁸ Charles K. Armstrong. “Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations.” In *The North Korea International Documentation Project Working Paper Series*, ed. Christian F. Ostermann (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars), 4, accessed on 11 March 2012, http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/NKID_P_WP_1.pdf.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 7.

⁴⁰ Armstrong. “Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations.” 7.

⁴¹ For interesting discussion about Juche Idea, see Cristopher Hale. “Multifunctional Juche: A Study of the Changing Dynamic between Juche and the State Constitution in North Korea.” *Korea Journal* 42, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 283-308.

³⁶ “16th NAM ministerial meeting ends in Bali.” *China Daily* May 5, 2011, accessed on 31 August 2015, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2011-05/27/content_12594010.htm

³⁷ Krishnan. “North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement,” 311.

related to "independence in politics" (chaju), "self-sustenance in the economy" (charip) and "self-defense in national defense" (chawi).⁴² A connection which apparently supports North Korean decision to joined NAM.

Later in August 1975 North Korea joined NAM as full-fledged member based on the unanimous decision of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Lima,⁴³ while at the same time Seoul's application to join was rejected.⁴⁴ Until recently, NAM might be the only international political groups that have a long history with North Korea. Started 27 years after its independence in 9 September 1948, nowadays North Korea has a relationship with NAM for over 40 years. The importance of NAM for North Korea later can be seen since the Sixth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea (WPK) in October 1980. 5 years after becoming a full-fledged member, the North Korean leaders start to realize the importance of NAM in protecting and promoting the "anti-imperialist, independent forces" in the contemporary era.⁴⁵

The involvement of North Korea in NAM apparently matches with the objective of

North Korean diplomacy which opposed to the presence of foreign troops on the soil of another. Besides that North Korea also tried to use its diplomacy with third world country to find supports in the United Nations, advocating North Korea participation in General Assembly debates on the Korean Question.⁴⁶ Furthermore, NAM interest over the problem in Korean arose since the Third Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Lusaka in September 1970. In the final declaration of conference it was stated that the presence of foreign troops in Korea was a threat to "national independence and international peace and security."⁴⁷ In 1972, declaration issued at the end of the Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Georgetown also support North Korea by asking for the withdrawal of all foreign forces and the peaceful reunification.⁴⁸ Supports from The Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries to Korean issues became obvious with the issue of "problems of Korea" resolution. One of the important demands from the resolution stated that:

...foreign interference in Korea be brought to an end and that the right of the Korean people to self-determination be guaranteed in order to allow them to manage their own affairs themselves and to settle

⁴² "Juche." Religion Resources Online, accessed on 11 March 2012, <http://www.religionresourcesonline.org/different-types-of-religion/juche.php>

⁴³ Krishnan. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." 299.

⁴⁴ Armstrong. "Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations." 10.

⁴⁵ Krishnan. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." 300.

⁴⁶ Armstrong. "Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations." 6.

⁴⁷ Krishnan. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." 310.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

the question of reunification of Korea by peaceful means.⁴⁹

It is also important to note that North Korea diplomacy in United Nations become stronger because of support from NAM. Besides issuing the resolution asking for withdrawal of all foreign troops and peaceful reunification, NAM countries also declared that Korean membership in the United Nations could only be achieved in the name of single state after the complete reunification of the country or after the establishment of a Confederation of North and South.⁵⁰ In the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Twenty-Eighth Session, NAM also stated that:

...to consider the question of Korea and to take a decision in favor of the withdrawal of foreign forces stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag and the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea with a view to facilitating the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea.⁵¹

NAM support to North Korea seems to be successful in 1970s, especially in the United

Nations General Assembly. North Korea proposal at the 30th UN General Assembly in 1975 which called for withdrawal of all foreign forces from the Korean peninsula eventually passed with support from third world countries, particularly in Africa.⁵²

Even though there is skepticism about NAM future, especially after the end of Cold War, NAM existence is still visible, if not as strong as it was. After the tragedy in 11 September 2001, where the risk of nuclear terrorism become more prominent, NAM still tended to be unsympathetic to Washington's fear that lead to labeling countries as 'axis of evil.' NAM also becomes unsympathetic because United States tend to neglect multilateral disarmament initiatives.⁵³ In the Ministerial meeting in 2011 held in Bali, Indonesia, North Korean Foreign Minister Pak Ui-chun reported had discussion with Iran counterparts. It was reported that North Korea appeared to have been sharing technology and expertise with Iran.⁵⁴ Based on these experiences, it is believed that North Korea has gained immeasurably by joining NAM. Through NAM North Korea be able to find supports for its objectives and finds opportunities in economic, trade, political, science, technical and cultural relations.

⁴⁹ Krishnan. "North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement." 311.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Armstrong. "Juche and North Korea's Global Aspirations." 14.

⁵³ Potter and Mukhatzhanova. "Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement." 21.

⁵⁴ "Iran meets North Korea, Syria in Bali."

NAM for North Korea Nuclear Crisis: Lesson Learned and Opportunities

*“strongly condemned labeling of countries as good or evil and repressive based on unilateral or unjustified criteria ... (and) all unilateral military actions without proper authorization from the United Nations Security Council, as well as ... threats of military actions against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of Member States of the movement which constitute act of aggression and blatant violations of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference.”*⁵⁵

-2004 Final Document of the Ministerial Conference of NAM.

The involvement of North Korea in NAM has a long history. It is already over 40 years since North Korea was accepted as full-fledged member. It is also believed that North Korea joined NAM with plausible reasons. As Krishnan noted in his article that by joining with NAM has not meant any fundamental change in its foreign policy. However, North Korea has gained immeasurably by joining Non-Aligned Movement.⁵⁶ It is true that Cold War is already over and the world now is facing unipolarity not bipolarity. Besides that the end of cold war also raises the question of relevance towards NAM.⁵⁷ In fact, NAM still exists until today and North

Korea still become part of NAM until now. The Ministerial meeting in Bali proved that North Korea still has interest in joining NAM.⁵⁸

Thus NAM is probably one of the most promising exit strategies for North Korea nuclear crisis, the engagement that could provide coalition for punishment tomorrow. Based on the relations between North Korea and NAM, we can learn and take an opportunity to resolve the current issue in the Korean peninsula. There are at least three main points related to this argument. **First**, comparing to any other organization or meeting, NAM perceived as an organization which is freer from super power interest. As we discussed earlier, the main objective of NAM is to protect the right of nations to “independent judgment” and to counter imperialism. It is also important to note that NAM developed in the era of cold war where there was a fear of arms race between two superpowers, United States and Soviet Union. NAM also tries to be neutral since its beginning when it tries not to be part of one bloc.⁵⁹ This condition could make NAM more neutral in assessing North Korea problem and also could give solution which perceived as non-interest solution.

However, some observers doubt NAM relevance in today’s global politics. As Koechler

⁵⁵ Krishnan. “North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement,” 299.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ “Non-Aligned Movement struggles for relevancy in post-Cold War world.”

⁵⁸ “Iran meets North Korea, Syria in Bali.” Jakarta Post May 27, 2011, accessed March 4, 2012 <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/05/27/iran-meets-north-korea-syria-bali.html>.

⁵⁹ For further details, see “Profile: Non-Aligned Movement.”

said that NAM could be highly irrelevant today because of now there is only United States as the one dominant global player. Besides many member countries in NAM now are heavily dependent on the United States. So it is believed that many members already violate the original philosophy of NAM.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, during the 14th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Havana, Cuba in September 2006, the Heads of States and Governments of the member countries showing their commitment to support NAM. They tried to reaffirm their commitment on the principles and philosophy upon which the movement was founded. In order to face new challenges, Head of States and Government of the member countries also stressed the need to tackle newly global threats. Another important thing is about the principles and purposes adopted during the summit which gives concern about “defend international peace and security and settle all international disputes by peaceful means.”⁶¹

The spirit of multilateralism without single hegemony could become an important aspect for NAM in solving the problem of Korean peninsula. As noted by Park, one of the complexities in the Six-Party talks is about the Washington’s interest and point of view,⁶² which sometimes shows hypocrisy and double

standards.⁶³ Moreover, Wang Yi, a vice foreign minister at the time and a key architect of the formation of the six-party talks in 2003, even said that the main problem of Six-Party Talks is the American Policy towards North Korea.⁶⁴ In this regard, NAM would have advantage over Six-Party Talks. **Second**, NAM could be the best answer since it has a history with North Korea which could help the engagement process. This relationship hopefully would lead into friendly approach both from North Korea and NAM member countries.

One possibility why NAM could bring such friendly approach towards North Korea is because most of the NAM member countries are developing countries and they may share a different point of view rather than Western counterpart.⁶⁵ The problem of point of view also could create misunderstanding inside talks or meetings, especially related high tension issue like North Korea nuclear program. A lesson learned from Six-Party Talks about the different approaches from Six-Party Government makes

⁶⁰ “The Non-Aligned Movement. Not dead yet. A ghostly relic marks its birth in a vanished country.”

⁶¹ “14th Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Movement.”

⁶² John S. Park. “Inside multilateralism: The six--party talks.” *The Washington Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2005): 88.

⁶³ See, Ogilvie-White. “International Responses to Iranian Nuclear Defiance: The Non-Aligned Movement and the Issue of Non-Compliance.” 463.

⁶⁴ Park. “Inside multilateralism: The six--party talks.” 88.

⁶⁵ The point of view of NAM regarding nuclear weapons might be different than Western point of view, like it was said during the last meeting in Tehran; “Iran considers the use of nuclear, chemical and similar weapons as a great and unforgivable sin.... This does not mean forgoing our right to peaceful use of nuclear power and production of nuclear fuel.” See, “NAM summit: India says no to foreign intervention in Syria.”

talks become meaningless.⁶⁶ Therefore, it is important to share the same point of view. Friendly approach from North Korea also plausible considering NAM support in 1973 to North Korea related the problem in Korean peninsula and United States troops in South Korea. As discussed earlier, The Heads of State of Non-Aligned Countries agreed upon the resolution of “problems of Korea” at the Algiers Conference held in August 1973.⁶⁷

Moreover, NAM called for “the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea and for an end to foreign interference in all its forms in the domestic affairs of Korea” and also brought the statement into United Nations Assembly. In the United Nations Assembly NAM ask United Nation to give Korean membership in the United Nations only with a single name. This resolution could be perceived as total support to North Korea from NAM at that time.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, long history of relations between NAM and North Korea also could falsify NAM possibility to successfully handle North Korean case. It is related to NAM recent behavior for not giving comment or statement on the recent missile testing and atomic tests carried out by North Korea.⁶⁹ In short, the long history of relations should be treated with care as it could become

double-edged sword for NAM, especially since disarmament and international security issues still become main concerns of NAM. Nevertheless, the importance of nuclear disarmament shown in one of the NAM’s final documents, which stated that the movement pursues the objective of:

“general and complete disarmament ... to be attained within a specific time frame through the elimination of all nuclear arsenal and all other weapons of mass destruction as well as through gradual and balanced reductions of conventional arms.”⁷⁰

Besides the objective of nuclear disarmament, another commemorative declaration in the ministerial meeting in 2011 also stated:

Reject unilateral sanctions imposed on any NAM Country which adversely affect the economy and people, in contravention of international law and in breach of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.⁷¹

⁶⁶ “The Six-Party Talks on North Korea’s Nuclear Program.”

⁶⁷ Krishnan. “North Korea and the Non-Aligned Movement.” 311.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ “Non-Aligned Movement struggles for relevancy in post-Cold War world.”

⁷⁰ Strydom. “The Non-Aligned Movement and the Reform of International Relations.” *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* 11 (2007): 11.

⁷¹ “Bali Commemorative Declaration on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement,” accessed on 9 March 2012, <http://www.kemlu.go.id/Documents/GNB%20ke-16/NAMDOC7-Rev1-Bali%20Commemorative%20Declaration-English-Final.pdf>.

Third, NAM could create a coalition for punishment tomorrow much better than the other organization. In this regards, the punishment is created on the basis of cooperation which brings cost for North Korean government if it decides to leave the cooperation. It is related to Victor D. Cha's theory "Hawk Engagement,"⁷² which promotes the engagement as well as containment. With engagement plus containment, North Korea's behavior is believed to change. One important thing from this theory is about offering carrots which could become tomorrow's most effective sticks.⁷³ This strategy had becomes a successful strategy as it explained in the South Korea's experience. In June 1999 South Korea's tourist detained on alleged spy charges, which makes South Korea to suspend the tours . This accident happened in Kumgang mountain tours. The tours itself provided by Hyundai. Through this tour, North Korea receives hard currency in their income. Suspension of further tours would only be a nightmare for North Korea. North Korea later released the tourist almost sheepishly after coercing a written confession. In this sense, Hyundai tour became a "carrot" as well as an effective "stick" for North Korea.⁷⁴

⁷² See, Victor D. Cha and David D. Kang. *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); Cha. "Hawk Engagement and Preventive Defense on the Korean Peninsula."

⁷³ Cha and Kang. *Nuclear North Korea. A Debate On Engagement Strategies*. 90.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*. 92.

The power of engagement plus containment offered by NAM also relies on the size of NAM itself. As we know, NAM consists of 120 member countries, and most of them are part of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT). As noted by Potter and Mukhatzhanova, NAM can use its size to influence the international agenda. In this sense, if NAM could use its vote as a bloc, NAM could have great bargaining position.⁷⁵ This powerful size of NAM can be a benefit to North Korea in the future, a benefit which they cannot deny. However, it is important to note that an agreement reached by multilateral engagement might be more effective than bilateral engagement if they are in one agreement and has strong coordination.⁷⁶ Besides, it also could be a form of multilateral containment⁷⁷ if worst things happen. Furthermore, NAM also could give a lot of opportunities, beside politics, for its member as

⁷⁵ Potter and Mukhatzhanova. "Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement." 10-11.

⁷⁶ For an interesting debate about engagement in multilateral context, see Sung Chull Kim and David C. Kang. "Engagement as a Viable Alternative to Coercion." In *Engagement With North Korea. A Viable Alternative*, eds. Sung Chull Kim and David C. Kang (New York: State University of New York Press, 2009), 9.

⁷⁷ For a great discussion about multilateral containment between China, U.S. and Russia, see Josh Saxby. "After the Chenoan: Engagement or Containment? What is the most effective approach for the United States Foreign Policy when considering North Korea's nuclear ambitions?" *Polis Journal* 6 (Winter 2011): 24-29, accessed on 8 March 2012, <http://www.polis.leeds.ac.uk/assets/files/students/student-journal/ug-winter-11/josh-saxby.pdf>.

it consists of 120 member countries. Even a country which is not a member could find NAM as a useful movement. Slovenia for instance, they use NAM as a perfect gathering to find support for its candidacy for a rotating seat on the UN Security Council. Arab diplomats also used NAM in their effort to persuade delegates in order to support a forthcoming vote for Palestinian statehood.⁷⁸ In a simple way, NAM could serve great opportunities for North Korea as well as other NAM member countries, from businesses to politics, and NAM also useful to be a tomorrow's stick. As we know, North Korea hope for survival is high and they also desire normal political and economic relations with the rest of the world.⁷⁹

Moreover, NAM also perceived as a good motivator for North Korea in terms of changing their behavior. In this regard, NAM could be the safety net in the engagement plus containment framework as NAM basically has more of moral influence. In NAM it is about the principle of national sovereignty, independence, non-interference, peaceful settlements of disputes and fairness in north-south relations and economic relations between member states.⁸⁰ The support from all NAM member countries

will bring much enthusiasm as well as costly effect for North Korea, if they decide to break the engagement. It is also important to note that with the size of NAM right now, the support from all NAM member countries could be perceived as a support from powerful movement. As we know, one of the reasons for small state like North Korea develops nuclear is to facing the declining support from superpower. Besides that as noted by Kang, North Korea's nuclear weapons primarily seen as political weapons not military weapons.⁸¹

The above discussion showed that NAM has an opportunity to become an exit strategy for the problem in Korean peninsula. The next problem arose then might be, what should NAM do with North Korea? As it mentioned before NAM and North Korea have a long history of friendship, it means that they already have an engagement before. Now the problem is not what kind of engagement but, at first, whether NAM could be brave enough to put North Korea's nuclear program as an agenda in their summit. If NAM braves enough to do it, then a form of cooperation between NAM and North Korea should be implemented as a concrete step of engagement (engagement plus containment). The form of engagement could be an economic cooperation, infrastructure cooperation, aids or any other cooperation. The cooperation between NAM countries and North Korea might not only benefited North Korean government but also

⁷⁸ "The Non-Aligned Movement. Not dead yet. A ghostly relic marks its birth in a vanished country."

⁷⁹ For interesting discussion about North Korean Patience, see David C. Kang. "International Relations Theory and The Second Korean War." *International Studies Quarterly* 47 (2003): 313-318.

⁸⁰ "Non-Aligned Movement struggles for relevancy in post-Cold War world."

⁸¹David C. Kang. "Rethinking North Korea." *Asian Survey* 35, no. 3 (March 1995), 265-267.

NAM member countries, in relation with new economic opportunities. Besides that, NAM will also be benefited from its involvement in the North Korean crisis as a movement in general. From the beginning until now, NAM surely have an objective in the nuclear disarmament and always propose the multilateral ways to solve the problem of nuclear weapons. NAM's initiative on North Korean issue in the end will revive its spirit and reshape its relevance in today's global politics.

Moreover, NAM opportunities in resolving North Korea's nuclear crisis also need support from other countries outside NAM, especially because deterrence looked successful because of United States presence in South Korea. Although NAM has chance, the effort would be meaningless without support from other countries like United States and China. In this sense, other countries should work together with NAM and start to share and compromise their point of view. NAM's involvement in resolving the North Korean nuclear issue does not mean opposition to all forms of peace efforts that has been tried before. Through discussion, a greater commitment to implementation can be reached. In order to find solution to any kind of problem, especially North Korea's nuclear crisis, an African proverb should be kept in mind: If you want to go fast, walk alone; if you want to go far, walk together.⁸²

⁸² Potter and Mukhatzhanova. "Nuclear Politics and the Non-Aligned Movement." 155-162.

Conclusion

In September 1961, a Non-Aligned Movement was established in Belgrade. The movement originated from the Asian-African Conference 1955 held in Bandung, and has commitment to peace and disarmament, independence, economic equality, cultural equality, as well as universalism and multilateralism. Besides that the movement also put attention to counter imperialism and restructuring the world economic order. With these objectives, NAM sought to prevent its members from becoming the object in Cold War power games between Western blocs and Soviet power blocs. One of the greatest achievements of NAM has been its capacity to transform itself from a small protest movement into a major international social movement in world politics. It is also important that NAM could survive after the end of the Cold War, as it was one of the main reasons of their establishment.

The spirits of NAM seem well connected to the idea of North Korean *Juche*, which is related to independence in politics, self-sustenance in the economy and self-defense in national defense. Later in August 1975 North Korea joined NAM as full-fledged member based on the unanimous decision of the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference held in Lima. Moreover, one of the objectives of North Korean diplomacy which matches with the spirits of NAM is opposition to the presence of foreign troops on the soil of another. It is

believed that North Korea has gained immeasurably by joining NAM. Through NAM North Korea be able to find supports for its objectives and find opportunities in economic, trade, political, science, technical as well as cultural relations.

Concerning the crisis in Korean peninsula, NAM has a great possibility to become an exit strategy for North Korea nuclear crisis. Compare to any other organizations or talks, in regards to North Korean problem, NAM has several advantages especially to create a form of “hawk engagement.” First, NAM can be perceived as an organization which is freer from super power interest. The spirit of multilateralism without single hegemony could become an important aspect for NAM in solving the problem of Korean peninsula, since the interest of superpower could ruin the engagement process. Second, NAM has a long history with North Korea. From this point of view, NAM has an opportunity to build a friendly engagement towards North Korea. Third NAM could create coalition for punishment tomorrow better than any other organization. With 120 countries as member countries NAM could serve a lot opportunities for any country, from business to politics. NAM also could be a useful movement if they vote as one bloc in any meeting or discussion, such as in the NPT. NAM's involvement in resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, however, does not mean opposition to all forms of peace efforts that has

been tried before. It is just simply another possible exit strategy for the problem.

The problem right now is whether NAM braves enough to put the issue of North Korea's nuclear crisis into the NAM's table. From the beginning until now, NAM surely have an objective in the nuclear disarmament and always propose the multilateral ways to solve the problem of nuclear weapons. However, NAM seems only play in grey area without giving any clear statement which country or player should be disarmed. If the question is whether NAM can be the solution for North Korea's nuclear crisis, yes; they have the opportunity to do so, but it all depends on their own. NAM's initiative on North Korean issue in the end will revive its spirit in today's global issue. However, there is still limited literature related to NAM and North Korea nowadays. Thus, a need for further research in this area would be essential to discover many opportunities that NAM has and also new solution towards North Korean issue.

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